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Home Market Club.

OWE POWER OF NATION TO PROTECTION.

Must Mobilize Our Military and Industrial Forces to Win the War—Failure to Protect Shipping Our One Weakness.

Address of William B. H. Dowse, President of the Home Market Club, at Annual Meeting, Nov. 21, 1917.

When the protective policy, so fittingly called the American System, was adopted, no one dreamed that within the short span of 125 years our country would grow from a confederation of thirteen sea coast states to a continental empire of forty-eight great commonwealths; that our population would increase from 3,000,000 to 110,000,000; that more than twice our original population would find employment in mills and factories yet to be built; that we would become the greatest manufacturing nation on earth, and that industrial America, with its industries built up by protection, would be called upon to turn back the tides of despotism and save the liberties of the world.

Washington and the patriotic Presidents of both parties early recognized that manufactures were essential to our comfort and security, and that the independence of the nation could be maintained only through industrial independence. They little dreamed that the independence of other nations, that held in their day a proud place in the world, would depend ultimately upon our ability to produce the articles necessary in peace or war.

That the issue of the war depends in large measure upon the United States is recognized abroad as well as it is here. Pomeroy Burton, a London editor, said in a speech July 2,

1917, that the burden of the war must inevitably rest upon the United States. Mr. Balfour said in July: "The result of the entry of the United States into the war is incalculable." A Bulletin of the Paris Chamber of Commerce in May referred to American intervention as "the decisive factor in the war." A leading French paper said in August: "It is absolutely necessary that the United States furnish England and France with all they need," and that "every delay might have the most serious consequences for the Allies." Bonar Law on September 12 said: "As Chancellor of the Exchequer, I am ready to say to you what I should have been sorry to have had to say six months ago, namely, that without the United States' financial assistance the Allies would have been in disastrous straits today."

That we are able to become the decisive factor in this war is due to the systematic development of our resources under our national policy of protection. That policy has developed our agriculture and established our mills and factories, and upon this industrial strength the destinies of the world depend today.

But upon one line of effort we have been most unfortunately delinquent. The real field of operations is far across the seas. Millions, perhaps, of men and millions of tons of

munitions and supplies will have to be transported across the ocean. We have the men; we have the material, but where are the ships? Sacrificed by lawmakers who were willing to protect agriculture and manufacturing, our ocean-going shipping, the only great industry which we have stubbornly refused to encourage and protect, had almost disappeared from the seas when this great war broke out, and we are unable even today, after nearly three years of war, to make our force felt as it should be felt because we have failed to encourage and protect our shipping as it was consistently encouraged and protected in our early, wiser and more patriotic days.

We owe our strength and power as a nation to protection. We owe our weakness to free trade. The country should take this lesson seriously to heart. Our mills and factories have been able to respond to the great demands made upon them, but in shipping we have so far woefully failed. We have the strong right arm of munitions and material, we have the withered left arm of our neglected shipping, and in this hour of the world's need we enter the war like a one-armed man going to battle.

Such is the penalty of our refusal to protect our ocean shipping. We have maintained till recently absolute protection for our coastwise shipping and our coast fleet is the best in the world, and upon this one protected branch of our shipping we are making heavy drafts to fill out the weak and broken lines of trans-oceanic ships. Our Atlantic and Pacific coasts have fought for years for protection for our shipping. The South and the Middle West have blocked these

measures time and again. Now, let us hope, they have learned at last that neglect means impotence and that delay spells danger.

For the danger is imminent and great. A war such as we are engaged in demands far more than an intrepid army and a valiant navy. It means more than the mobilization of the military and naval forces of the nation. To win this war all the resources of the country must be employed to the utmost and every man and woman must stand behind our Army, our Navy, and our Government. So far as needed our mills and factories must be devoted to the necessities of war, and the labor of the country must be heartily enlisted in the cause. No interference with the operation of mill or mine or factory can be permitted, and war traffic must have precedence on all our railroads, even though this involves hardship and deprivation for our civilian population. What are our deprivations and sacrifices compared to those of the brave men who follow the Stars and Stripes to foreign battlefields and across the danger zones of the sea?

We have seen our boys spring to answer the country's call. Through our streets have sounded the tread of marching feet and the strains of martial music. From all walks in life the great democracy of the United States has responded with thrilling enthusiasm and convincing patriotism. In the uniform of the Republic our boys go forth to meet the foe, braving dangers on sea and indescribable hardships on land, that the liberties for which their fathers fought may be preserved and that our rich heritage

from the struggles and sacrifices of the past may be handed down to generations yet unborn. It is our war; a war for self-preservation; a war that

we could not have avoided without humiliation and disaster, and to its successful prosecution we pledge all we have and all we are.

AMERICA OR GERMANY!

The Only Issue Before the Country Now—Entire Effort to Win the War—Opposed to President's Tariff Policy But Loyally Support His War Policy.

Address of Thomas O. Marvin, Secretary, at Annual Meeting of the Home Market Club.

The 29th annual meeting of the Home Market Club is held under far different conditions from those prevailing at any time since the incorporation of the Club in 1888.

During this period there have been exciting and important political contests, and in all of them the tariff policy of the country, with at times the sound money question, has been of foremost interest. Even on those rare occasions when candidates opposed to protection were chosen to administer the Government, every possible effort was made to minimize the severity of the tariff changes that were proposed.

In 1884, when Grover Cleveland was elected President, the Democratic platform pledged the party "to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests." "In making reduction in taxes," the platform said, "it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this Government taxes collected at the custom house have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of

law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. . . . The necessary reduction and taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country."

In 1912, when Woodrow Wilson was elected for his first term, the same camouflage of the tariff position was attempted. The Democratic platform for that year said: "We recognize that our system of tariff taxation is intimately connected with the business of the country, and we favor the ultimate attainment of the principles we advocate by legislation that will not injure or destroy legitimate industry."

And again in 1916 the Democratic party handled the tariff issue with consummate care in a campaign that once more proved successful. Their platform of that year endorsed the proposal for a tariff commission "to make impartial and thorough study of every economic fact that may throw light, either upon our past or future

fiscal policy . . . with regard to the changed and changing conditions under which our trade is carried on," and declared that the party was "in sympathy with the principle and purpose of shaping legislation within that field in accordance with clearly established facts."

These tariff declarations of Democratic platforms recognize "the overwhelming sentiment of the country in favor of such protection as will enable American capital and American labor to compete successfully with foreign manufactures and maintain the American standard of wages, and it is only by yielding to this sentiment or misrepresenting the effect of Republican tariffs, as they did in regard to the McKinley tariff, that the Democratic party can win on the tariff issue. But the Democratic party does not fulfill the soft and specious promises of its tariff planks. In its legislation it is not so considerate of American industries as it is in its platforms, as the effects of its tariff laws have invariably proved.

The last Democratic platform declared for tariff legislation "in accordance with clearly established facts." We sincerely wish the tariff commission all possible success in ascertaining these facts, and pledge the commission our co-operation in obtaining the facts, for no protectionist asks for legislation on any other basis.

What are the facts? Glance back through the history of our country. When the national government was formed 90 per cent of the population was engaged in agriculture. We were dependent upon an unorganized home industry or on importations from other countries for many necessary articles. It was to supply these needs

by domestic manufacture; diversify industry; increase opportunities for employment, and render the nation commercially independent that Congress enacted as its first measure a protective tariff law. Under the stimulus of this encouragement and protection manufacturing increased and multiplied, new avenues of employment were opened which widened the opportunities for our wage earners and attracted millions of industrious men and women from abroad. Down through the years this policy, with occasional disastrous interruptions, has been followed and the large measure of industrial independence which we enjoy today is due to the adoption of protection as a national policy by the founders of our Government.

Why is it that the entrance of the United States into the war was hailed with joy by our Allies? It was because they knew that the great resources of the United States would be the deciding factor in the conflict. They knew that we were unprepared in a military sense, but were wonderfully prepared industrially. Here were the world's greatest mines, mills and factories,—the inexhaustible rear guard of the fighting forces. And these mills and factories, the bulwark today of our liberties, are due to the insistence on protective policies by Washington, the founder of the nation; by Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Jackson, Democratic Presidents, and by Lincoln, Grant, Harrison and McKinley, stalwart protectionists of these later days.

Today a President who has sought from boyhood to undermine the policy which has made the nation great, self-reliant, and capable of upholding its honor and defending its freedom is

sending our Army and Navy into the greatest conflict of the ages equipped with the products of that policy which he has denounced and attacked all his life.

We have opposed him in his attitude toward the tariff because, as Americans, we knew that he was wrong; but we uphold him in this war because as Americans and patriots we know that he is right. Many of our members are in active service in the Army or the Navy and subscriptions to the two Liberty bond issues by members of this organization amount at least to \$50,000,000. There have been no lock-outs and no strikes among our membership, and no attempt to impede the Government or hamper it in the vigorous prosecution of the war. Instead, every opportunity to render assistance has been grasped. Many of our mills and factories have been devoted exclusively to war work, and from the homes represented in our membership have gone that final proof of loyalty—the young men in khaki and in naval blue.

Today it is not the strife of politics or the struggle of policies that engages our deepest thought. It is that mighty conflict across the seas and on and under the seas to which our spirits respond and to the successful issue of which our best energies are directed.

Into this conflict must be poured the blood and treasure of the land. Into it must be directed the united effort of capital and labor. Too long have we remained half-hearted and faint-hearted. Too long have we remained indifferent, divided, contentious. Too long have we ignored the enormity of the task and the stupendous power of the enemy. Organized

into the most effective fighting force that the world has ever seen, the Teutonic Allies hold in unbroken grasp the conquered territories of three victorious years. Europe trembles under the shock of their armies, as nation after nation reels at their mighty blows. First striking through Belgium to the sea and then through the Balkans on to Bagdad and the Persian Gulf, the Central Powers have welded in the flames of war a European empire of tremendous resources in men and material, and that contains menacing possibilities in war or peace of the gravest import. There should be no such delay to meet the economic menace of this closely welded empire as we experienced in meeting its military menace. The lesson of the past three years must not be ignored. The industrial policy which has fitted us to take our place in the battle line must be revived to prepare us to cope with the competition that will confront us at the close of the war. Advantageous as the protective policy has been in the past it will be even more necessary in the future if we are to hold our home markets and retain our place in the trade of the world.

It is incredible that Germany can win, but we must not forget that Germany's defeat is not yet assured. Into the titanic task of turning back the invading hordes; of rescuing our Allies from ruin; of destroying the last stronghold of despotism; of saving for future generations the freedom and liberty of the world, we must throw the last ounce of our strength; pour out the most precious of our blood, and devote to the utmost all our energies and all our wealth.

We have emerged from the chagrin and humiliation of "the drugged and

doubting years," and have at last "made our choice for Freedom's brotherhood." No more do we dream of a peace reserved for us alone, "while friends are fighting for our cause beyond the guardian seas."

"Now truancy

From the true self is ended, to her part

Steadfast again she moves, and from her heart

A great America cries: Death to Tyranny."

Untold sacrifices will be exacted before the goal is won. Out from the

quiet walks of peace must march millions of our young men. With them go our hearts, our hopes, our praise, and our unfailing determination to stand by them till this job is done. The issue now is Germany or America! Tyranny or Liberty! Which shall it be? With that high spirit that has characterized America in all hours of heroic effort we will face the path of duty knowing that it is

"The one firm road that men have trod

Through chaos to the throne of God."

HOME MARKET CLUB ANNUAL MEETING.

Resolutions Adopted and Officers Elected.

At the annual meeting of the Home Market Club, held at the office of the club, 77 Summer Street, Boston, on November 21, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolution on Industrial Preparedness, presented by Mr. Lew C. Hill, of Boston:

Whereas: We are engaged in a world war in which victory will be won not by armies and navies alone, but with money, food and munitions; be it

Resolved: That we congratulate the Nation that an economic policy has been followed for a century and a quarter that has made us the strongest Nation in the world industrially and financially. We respectfully urge upon the attention of the President and of Congress the tremendous contribution which the American Policy of Protection has made to the power and might of the Nation. It is the resources of the United States in men, money

and material which will win this war for the liberty of the world, and we most earnestly petition the President and Congress for a speedy restoration of adequate protection that our safety and security may be preserved; that the welfare of our people may be promoted, and that we may meet the conditions that will confront us at the close of the war with all reasonable safeguards of industrial preparedness.

Resolution of Loyalty, presented by Mr. F. G. R. Gordon of Haverhill:

Amid this titanic struggle, not merely of armies and navies, but of ideals and of institutions, we pledge anew our loyalty to our country, our support of the Government and our allegiance to the Flag. That Flag flies now on foreign soil and challenges the enemy of the world on distant seas. Our Army and our Navy uphold that Flag with their valor and their lives. It is our

privilege to uphold it in all fealty with all our strength and all our resources. In its defence we offer our factories, our money and if need be, our lives. The cause of civilization, the ideals for which Washington and Lincoln fought, the liberty of our country and of the world depend upon the issue of this mighty conflict. To lose this war is slavery; to win it is renewed emancipation for ourselves and for posterity. Every consideration must bow to this one purpose: to end the war with a complete and triumphant victory and bring peace to a world drenched in blood. With this unfaltering purpose and in this great endeavor we unite with all the patriotic forces of the nation to sustain in every way our Army and our Navy until the honor of the country is vindicated and the cause for which we drew the sword shall triumph.

Resolution on the Death of Hon. William B. Plunkett, presented by Mr. William H. Chase of Leominster:

We record with deep regret the death of William B. Plunkett, president of the Home Market Club from 1897 to 1899. A business man of the highest integrity, a manufacturer of exceptional ability, a citizen of unfailing loyalty, the State, in his death, has lost one of its mightiest pillars and this Club has lost one of its most honored officers. His was a life rich in good deeds, in public service and in high achievement, and it inspires us all with a deeper love of a country that can produce such men and a firmer resolve that this Republic of liberty and opportunity shall not perish from the earth.

OFFICERS ELECTED

For President,

Wm. B. H. Dowse of West Newton.

For Vice-Presidents,

Lyman B. Goff.....	Pawtucket, R. I.
William M. Wood.....	Boston
George M. Whitin.....	Whitinsville
F. A. Sayles.....	Saylesville, R. I.
Arthur H. Lowe.....	Fitchburg
George A. Hammond.....	Putnam, Conn.
Edward H. Haskell.....	Boston
J. J. Dewey.....	Quechee, Vt.
P. F. Amidon.....	Wilton, N. H.
Frederick C. Fletcher.....	Boston
L. D. Cole.....	Newburyport
Arthur B. Daniels.....	Adams
James E. Osborn.....	Fall River
Fred W. Estabrook.....	Nashua, N. H.
Lew C. Hill.....	Boston
Calvin D. Paige.....	Southbridge
Chester W. Lyman.....	New York
Charles T. Paye.....	North Attleboro
Alebrt A. Jenks.....	Pawtucket, R. I.
Edwin J. Seward.....	Worcester
Arthur G. Pollard.....	Lowell
Frank L. Carpenter.....	Fall River
Frederic E. Kip.....	Bridgeport, Conn.
Leonard B. Nichols.....	Boston
Arthur C. Hastings.....	Holyoke
Frank Hopewell.....	Boston
Charles E. Riley.....	Newton
Henry F. Lippitt.....	Providence, R. I.
Louis B. Goodall.....	Sanford, Me.
Walter E. Parker.....	Lawrence
Charles T. Plunkett.....	Adams
Nelson Curtis.....	Boston
H. F. MacGregor.....	Houston, Texas

Executive Committee,

The President, Secretary and Treasurer by virtue of their offices, and

Franklin W. Hobbs.....	Boston
R. P. Snelling.....	Needham
William M. Butler.....	New Bedford
Horace A. Carter.....	Needham Heights
Frank B. Hopewell.....	Boston

Advisory Board—The Ex-Presidents, Namely:

William H. Bent.....	Taunton
George A. Draper.....	Hopedale
Charles H. Hutchins.....	Worcester
James R. MacColl.....	Providence, R. I.

Directors whose term will expire in 1918

Channing Smith.....	Cherry Valley
Andrew Adie.....	Boston
S. O. Bigney.....	Attleboro
Joseph E. Fletcher.....	Providence, R. I.
Frank H. Metcalf.....	Holyoke
John Shirreffs.....	Fitchburg
Channing M. Wells.....	Southbridge
H. T. Whitin.....	Northbridge

Directors whose term will expire in 1919

W. K. Dana.....	Westbrook, Me.
Charles Sisson.....	Providence, R. I.
Edwin Farnham Greene.....	Boston
Eben D. Bancroft.....	Hopedale
W. C. Plunkett.....	Adams
Andrew G. Pierce, Jr.....	New Bedford
C. B. Smith.....	Fitchburg
E. Ray Speare.....	Newton Center

For Directors, Term Expiring 1920.

Charles Cheney.....	So. Manchester, Conn.
B. H. Bristow Draper.....	Hopedale
Louis A. Coolidge.....	Natick
George S. Colton.....	Easthampton
W. H. Chase.....	Leominster
W. H. Pridee.....	Brookline
Richard S. Russell.....	North Andover
L. J. Knowles.....	Worcester
J. Lovell Johnson.....	Fitchburg

WHAT THE HOME MARKET CLUB STANDS FOR.

The Home Market Club believes in a protective tariff because, under such a tariff, in the words of the debate over our own first tariff law, "the manufacture would increase and of a consequence the price would be lessened." It believes that sectional prejudice in tariff matters should be overcome, and that the truth was well expressed in the congressional debates of 1789 by a representative from Pennsylvania who said, "What operates to the benefit of one part of the country in establishing useful institutions will eventually operate to the advantage of the whole." It believes, as Washington declared in his first inaugural address, that the safety and interest of a free people "require that they promote such manufactures as tend to render them independent of others for essential, particularly military supplies." It believes with Alexander Hamilton that "the expediency of encouraging manufactures in the United States, appears at this time to be pretty generally admitted." It believes with a long line of American statesmen, from the foundation of the government down to the present time, that the policy of protection best promotes the general welfare of the people of the United States.

It believes that the protective tariff, by encouraging manufacturing enterprises and stimulating domestic competition, has increased the supply and reduced the price of many articles, and that along lines where our industrial development is still incomplete and where prices are higher here still than they are abroad, "they are rarely higher by anything like the whole amount of the duty," and that, again quoting from the report of the Taft Tariff Board on cotton manufactures, the effect of a protective tariff "in most cases is not so much to add the duty to the domestic manufacturer's price as to secure him the American market; and in the case of most articles of widest consumption, to prevent the competition of the foreign manufacturer."

In other words, the effect of a protective tariff is to save the American market for the American people. To the statesmen of our storied past, the American System was the essence of patriotism, and the American people of the present and the future should regard this historical policy as the safeguard of our general welfare, the source of our prosperity and the mainspring of our industrial activity. They alone can maintain the defence and the security of our home market.



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